The Main Nilotic-speaking Peoples

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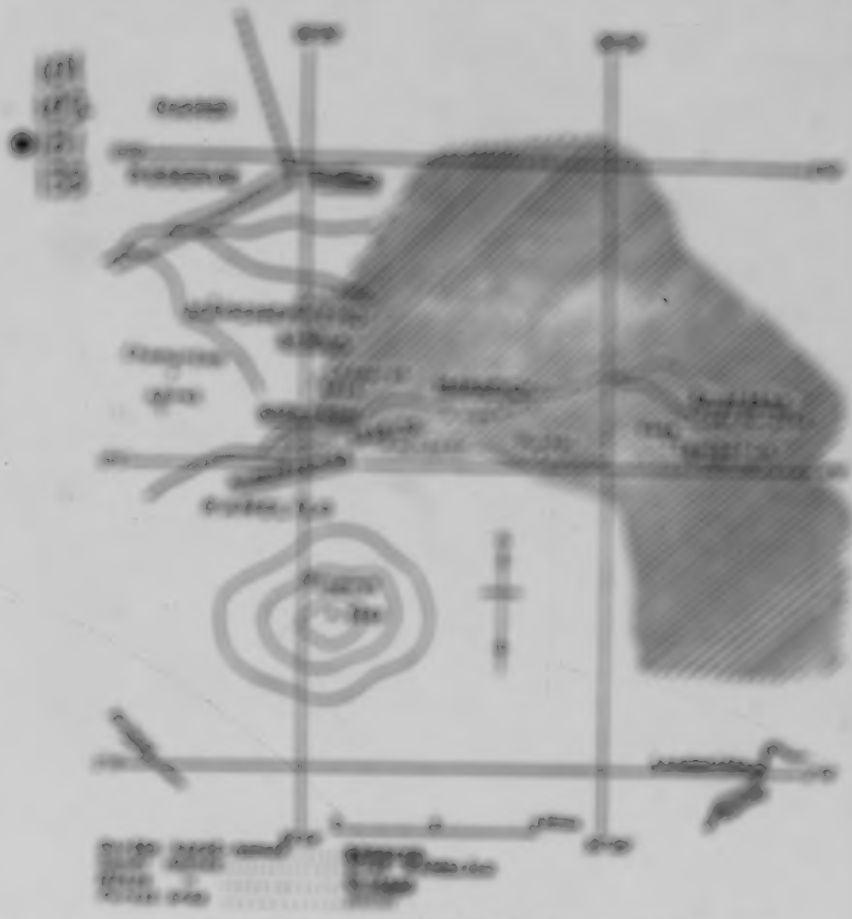

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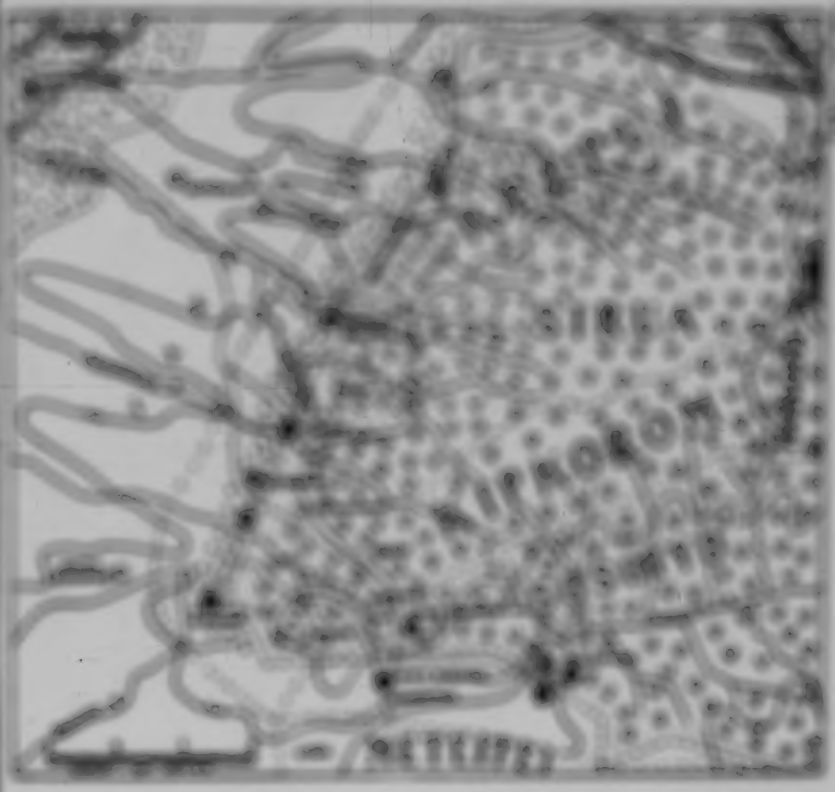

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6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

The Economic Life of the Dorobo

By G. W. B. Huntingford, B. Sc.

005

Contents:

1. The Economic Framework
2. Economic Activities
   a) Bee-keeping
   b) Hunting
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1. The Economic Framework[1]

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The country inhabited by the Dorobo consists of the northern part of the Tindiret Forest, and lies just north of the equator, extending northwards to about lat. 0°12', the western and eastern boundaries being long. 35°17' and 35°32' respectively. This area is mostly covered by dense forest of the deciduous type, and has an average altitude of about 8300 feet above sea-level, the northern block being in effect a table-land formed by the 8000 ft. contour. From it on the north and west a series of parallel ridges or spurs runs down towards the Nandi Land Unit[2], which is five miles distant from the nearest Dorobo settlement and below 7000 ft. in altitude, that part of south-east Nandi with which the Dorobo have contacts ranging from 6300 to 6900 ft. On the south there is a more precipitous slope to the Kipkurere valley, whereas there is a rise to be crossed before the river Meteitei is reached. The only river of any size in the forest is the Kipkurere, "the hollow river", in allusion to its deep valley, which in wet weather rises from Lake Naruaba near Timboroa. It crosses the northern part of the Dorobo forest through a valley nearly 1000 ft. deep, and with its numerous small tributaries forms the water supply of this part of the forest.

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[1] Cf. The Social Institutions of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44. 1949. pp. 1-48, and The Political Organization of the Dorobo, Anthropos 44. 1949. pp. 129-168.

[2] Native Land Unit is the term now used officially in place of the old Native Reserve; but for the sake of clearness I shall continue to refer to the Nandi Land Unit as the Nandi Reserve or the Reserve.

[+602]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

This area is a gazetted Forest Reserve, and the official boundary, marked by a broad line where the bush and trees have been cut, runs some distance outside the actual area of trees; this boundary line is kept clear by the Forest Department, for it acts in some measure as a firebreak. It is also the upper boundary of a block of European farms which occupy the land between the forest and the Nandi Reserve. On this strip of open ground between the trees and the farms most of the Dorobo now live, and it is on these farms that some of them work[1].

The forest itself is bordered in many places by a narrow belt of acacia thorn (acacia robusta, the flat-topped thorn-tree), as is often the case in western Kenya. Between the thorn and the forest are glades (*lovsita*) affording open spaces concealed from the outside world. The forest is evergreen "high forest", the trees, many of them 100 ft. and more in height, growing close together so that the branches and foliage which are mostly at the top form a crown or canopy that shades the ground from the sun. At ground level the space between the trees is largely covered with thick, tough undergrowth and giant thistles, up to a height of more than six feet, which make it impossible to travel except along a path. The rainfall is heavy and mists are frequent; in the dry weather there is occasional hoar-frost in open ground. As a result of the dense tree cover, the forest is always wet during the rains and in the dry weather some weeks elapse before the damp disappears.

From our commercial point of view the forest is perhaps not of outstanding value, but it is first class natural cover and an ideal home for the Dorobo who do not judge trees by their value as marketable timber. Of the many kinds of tree in the forest, the following have been identified:

Cerut, ficus sp.
Kelet, acocanthera Schimperi
Kipurpet, tilia sp.
Lemeiyet, ximenia americana.
Mindeiyet, polygonum senegalense.
Mukupet, dracaena sp.
Olkemiyoi, olea chrysophylla.
Orerut, ficus sp.
Perut, Dombeya sp.
Rerendet, euphorbia candelabrum.
Seftet, podocarpus sp.
Sasuriet, musa eneta.
Senetet, cassia didymobotrya.
Sepet, acacia robusta.
Sepoitit, ficus sp.
Seseiyet, arundinaria alpina.
Test, juniperus procera.

When the Dorobo lived in the forest, their homesteads were reached by narrow and hardly discernable paths through the undergrowth; nowadays some of these paths are still used as approaches to honey-barrels and game traps. The forest can be traversed by two tracks only, one running from Kipkoreon to Soseiyo, the other parallel to it from Kipukua to Soseiyo. These being the only through tracks, people going to Timboroa have to go along either the northern or the southern edge of the forest.

[1] The farms are extensive, and only their lower parts are actually occupied and worked, so that in actual fact there is an interval of 1-2 miles between the Dorobo and all signs of European activity.

7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL 6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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7: Wayland N-S (ca. 1926) 1931 FLA Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

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part of Acholiland to the neighbouring area of Labwor in Karamoja. No details will be given of this journey, which proved a difficult one on account of the heavy rains. It may be noted, however, that the administrative boundary between Lango and Acholi was found unrecognizable with the tribal boundary. The line of march after leaving Labwor is indicated on the accompanying map. From the beginning of the journey to Kakamari, in Dodoth, I was accompanied by Captain P. Remny, then O.C. Northern Garrison, to whom I am deeply indebted. Indeed, had it not been for his ever-willing help, many of the enquiries to which this report refers could not have been undertaken. My best thanks are due to the Percy Sladen trustees for generous assistance.[1] Further, I wish gratefully to acknowledge much good advice from Professor C. G. Seligman, Dr. A. C. Haddon, and Sir James Frazer.

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2.—KARAMOJA.

For administrative purposes the boundaries of Karamoja, embracing an area of 7,112 square miles, are defined in the Handbook of Uganda (Second Edition) as follows:—

"Commencing at a point on the boundary between the Uganda and East Africa Protectorates, being the centre of the crater of Mount Elgon, the boundary runs in a straight line to the source of the River Kimarhanga (also known as the Kilim or Greek River) which river it follows to its junction with the Kibuke River, which river it follows to its junction with Lake Gedge; thence in a north-easterly direction to a point on 2° N. Latitude due south of the highest point on Kamalinga mountain. From this point it follows the eastern boundary of Labor District until it meets the southern boundary of Rudolf Province; thence along the southern boundary until it meets the Turkwel District boundary of Rudolf Province; thence in a southerly direction along the Turkwel District boundary until it meets the River Turkwel or Suam; thence along the Turkwel or Suam to the source of the Suam in Mount Elgon; thence a straight line to the point of commencement."

DJA [648] 133 8 A [172]

Until about the middle of 1929 Karamoja was unadministered, except that part of it generally known as Labwor, which was treated as part of the Acholi District. Karamoja is a vast alluvial plain rising very gently in the vicinity of the mountains which tend to be mainly grouped on the eastern and northern sides. The eastward rise, towards the Rift escarpment, is moderately conspicuous. Most of the plain consists of "cotton soil" in and on which are gravels carrying stone tools of a very primitive culture.[2] (Pl. XVIII, *Fig.* 1.)

The hills and mountains are all composed of ancient crystalline rocks of various sorts except in the south-east where Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. Generally speaking the crystalline rocks are of the Inselberg type.[3] True caves exist, but they are not very common. They are due to weathering along joint planes, except in the Tororo hills where limestone caverns occur.

DJA [132] [312]

The area is decidedly a dry one, and if tradition is to be trusted is becoming steadily drier. There are no permanent rivers and, during the dry season, water is obtained from holes—

[1] The Royal Anthropological Institute is also indebted to the Percy Sladen trustees for a grant towards the expenses of publication.

[2] The Stone Age remains of this area will be dealt with in another publication.

[3] See Ann. Rept. Geol. Surv. Uganda, 1925.

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Jiye FK8
Acholi FK4

either natural basins, of the nature of solution pits in the gneiss, or artificial excavations. Among the latter, those of Kamoon and Loyoro are famous. In both of these places the water-holes are dug in dry stream beds, and those at Loyoro must be 100 feet in depth.

Since the inhabitants of Karamojo are "cattle-people" possessing vast herds, it will be understood that their movements are largely determined by dry-weather water supplies and grazing grounds.

The vegetation is essentially xerophytic, acacia being the most conspicuous form of tree. In the extreme north-east, however, the hills and valleys, particularly the latter, are somewhat densely wooded, and in the gulleys that cut into the escarpment that separates Karamoja from the Turkana country very large fig-trees are not uncommon. Among other interesting trees, the wild olive may be noted.

The term Karamoja District derives from the name Karamojo, the proper name for the southern part of the district inhabited by the Karamojong; the central part of the country is known as Jie and is inhabited by a people of that name; while the northern portion is divided into two: in the N.E. there is Dodotho and on the N.W. Nangiya. Both of these areas are inhabited by people calling themselves Dodothi (Dodotho).

The following subdivisions of the tribal sections are taken (with very slight adaptation) from a "Report on the Karamoja District," by Capt. A. R. Chidlaw Roberts, M.C., Government Press, Entebbe, 1920:—

(1) Karamojo.	Area.
Ngi'muno	Magusi (to Moroto).
Ngi'maziniko	Moroto
Ngi'tepes	"
Ngi'pian	Mani-Mani and Kilim
Ngi'kadama	Debasien Mt.
Ngi'tome	Bakora
Ngi'mosingo	"
Ngi'ngoleriet	"
Ngi'merimong	"
Ngi'kopo	"
Ngi'pei	"

(2) Jie.	Area.
Ngi'rengen	Jie central.
Ngi'kotianga	" "
Ngi'watia	" "
Ngi'kotido	" "
Ngi'panyangara	" "
Ngi'owtakow	" "
Ngi'silanga	" "

7: Wayland N-5 (ca. 1926) 1931 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Acholi FK4
Jiye FK8
Lango FK9

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Short Vocabulary—(contd.).

English.	Labwor.	Lango.	Karamojong.
ox	ekuogo	mam (a'a).	mam.
nose	um,	um,	ekuna.
oryx	rula,	rula (= bushbuck).	ediir, ngidiria (pl.).
rain	kuut,	kot,	akirra.
rainbow	kokot,	otokka.	ekipe.
river	kulu,	angolong.	angolol.
sheep	ruuna,	runa,	emotiok.
shield	kwut,	kwot,	angwal.
shoulder	wibua,	gwok,	ekepoy.
sim sim	nyim,	nim,	nunum.
sister	lamwa	amin,	nakhata.
skin	del koma,	del,	amuny.
sun	latin lacher,	wot,	okhapot.
spear	tong,	tong,	akwarra.
star	ebeng,	nekyee,	okhonyorit, otop.
stone	kidi, kidi mpol (pl.),	gweng,	nyimura, nyimur (pl.).
sun	ebeng orieng,	ebeng,	akhokong.
thing	jam,	gin,	ibarra, ngibaro (pl.).
thou	iin,	in,	ikeng or in.
thunder	kot-mor,	kot, emera kot,	egur.
tongue	leha,	lep,	angajep.
tooth	lak,	lak,	ekiisi, ngkol (pl.).
tree	gutt,	yat,	ngitui,
village	gang,	pacha,	are,
war	mwaka,	yi,	ajuru, ejeia.
water	pi,	pi,	ngipi.
waterbuck ...	apoli,	apoli,	amoimon.
we	wjun,	wan,	thua or inguan = we or us.
who	eningeng,	ngu,	ngul.
wind	yamut,	yamo,	ekuum.
woman	daka,	dako,	akero, ngakero (pl.).
wood	kot,	kak,	akero, akerono (pl.).
ye	ewo,	eijo,	ee, kongina, awua, ikuni.

A D 181

THE WANDEROBO.

Of all the tribes living in Karamoja the Labwor are the least primitive and the Wanderobo the most so. It will be convenient to deal with them next.

D 131

Environment.—The Wanderobo are a hill people. They live in rough mountainous country on the edge of the Karamoja-Turkana escarpment, in the north-east of the district, in places difficult of access (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2, and Pl. XXVIII). They are despised by the neighbouring tribes who, however, make use of them in several ways. Till very recently, the Wanderobo acted as a "go-between" during raids, assisting the Dodotho by spying for them, on the one hand, and helping the "Habash"[1] or Turkana with regard to watering-places on the other. The Dodotho often refer to the Wanderobo as "monkey men" on account of their agility. The Wanderobo claim that they have never been raided.

D 648 186

[1] Raiders from Abyssinia.

/54/

58. The Dorobo

The last name on the list of predecessors in the occupation of the land now held by the tribes of the Unit is Dorobo. Here again there have been much confusion and lack of definition, and in spite of the continued existence of 'pockets' of so-called Dorobo in many parts of East Africa we find ourselves beset with difficulties if we try to give a synoptic ethnological interpretation to the very numerous facts. Some would lump all the Dorobo together with the other trapping tribes and call them aboriginal hunting people of a Bushman type, explaining obvious departures from that type by infiltrations in varying amounts of Hamite and Negro blood. Others (including many Africans) think that the difference between them and the other tribes is simply one of culture[1], not of origin, that the Dorobo chose to stay a step behind while the others, due in part to population-pressure, moved from the hunting-trapping-gathering stage to that of herding or herding-planting.

59. Joseph Thomson, in Through Masailand, written in 1883 or thereabouts, gives the following account:

> "This tribe - the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili - is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skillful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andorobbo are to be found only where those animals abound; as for instance

1. To the Mwimbi at the present time Mwathi signifies a Mwimbi who, while engaging in hunting and trapping, lives in a settled village among the agricultural Mwimbi, while Dorobo signifies a Mwimbi (or anybody else) who lives in the forest and takes no part in agriculture.

/54 cont'd/

in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Mau, the top of Elgeyo, Maraqwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondote etc. They are rarely found in numbers and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal /55/ life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai or it may be the traders.

"The language spoken by the Andorobo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them."

Mr. C.W. Hobley, in the glossary to his Bantu Beliefs and Magic, says:

"Dorobo in Masai means tsetse fly. The name for an aboriginal race of hunters who inhabit the great forests of the highlands in East Africa. They call themselves Asi and the Kikuyu call them Adzi. The name of the Athi River is believed to be a corruption of Adzi."

/66 cont'd/

"South of the Chania river the position was very different, a few families of Gumba were living here and there in the forest - a fact which even the Wanderobo admit - but they were merely wanderers eking out a precarious existence and hiding from the real owners, the Wanderobo. 101 174

"The Wanderobo were, like the Gumba, a hunting people, but it would seem that they were much more organised and according to their own tradition they had even, in the dim past, definite laws or customs relating to hunting rights... [224]

"The Kikuyu described the Wanderobo as the Athi a Githaka or 'Rulers of the Bush land', and never spoke of them among themselves as the Nderubu, which was the name by which they were known to the Masai. 101

"The word Wanderobo has been used by Europeans in Kenya to describe the various hunting tribes that inhabit the forest zones of the Kenya Highlands, and there is no doubt at all that the name has been used to describe several distinct tribal entities which anthropologists and linguists would have no difficulty in distinguishing from each other on the grounds of law and custom and language. For the purpose of this study we must concern ourselves only with that tribe called Wanderobo by the Europeans, which inhabited the forest lands which later were bought by the Kikuyu, and the descendants of whom are still living in the forest on the boundary of Kikuyu country in the Kijabe region and northwards on to the slopes of the Aberdare mountains. Today only some two or three hundred individuals are left to represent the Wanderobo of this area, and most of them have a greater or less proportion of Kikuyu blood in their veins, but /67/ they still retain many customs which are quite different to those of the Kikuyu and they still speak among themselves a distinct language of their own, although most if not all of them also speak Kikuyu, but with a marked accent. [131] [131] [162] [144] [191]

Hobley G-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FL6 Dorobo FL6

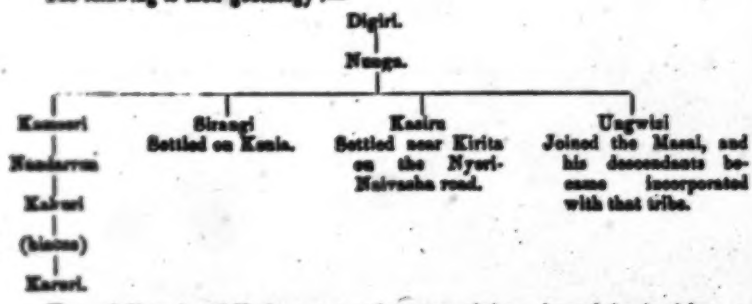
Notes on the Dorobo People and other Tribes; gathered from Chief Karuri and others. *By C. W. Hobley, C.M.G.* 78

101 The true Dorobo people are called Asi by the Kikuyu people and call themselves Aggiek (or Ogiek) or Ogiechon.

Mr. Hollis tells me that the Nandi call them Okiek (singular Okiot), the Masai Il-Torobo (singular Ol-Toroboni).

131 [648] 173 614 [769] They inhabited the whole of the East Africa highlands from Nandi to Kenia before the Masai invaded the country. The most important clan among the Aggiek is the Digiri (*cf* MAN, 1905, 21), the name Digiri being that of their earliest known ancestor. Digiri, however, appears to have lived so long ago that all details about him are lost, and the first ancestor remembered by most is one Nunga, who was a very powerful person, and nearly all the Aggiek are said to trace their origin to this chief.

The following is their genealogy :—



614 [304] [191] [262] [173] [648] Kamuori, Sirangi, and Kasiru are now the names of three clans of the Aggiek.

Before the Masai came none of the Aggiek circumcised and they all spoke one language. The totem of the Aggiek is the ant-bear, which is called Ungaro, they do not eat carnivorous animals or birds of prey, but eat all other animals and birds.

The Digiri have a distinct legend of the invasion of the Masai: they describe how one day a Digiri hunter on the Emoo Narok saw a great company of people coming from the north; the hunter was afraid and hid among the rocks, but he was seen,

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6 Kikuyu FL10 Masai FL12

seen amongst them, and it is not difficult with a little practice to tell the particular division to which a Kikuyu belongs. Thus the people of Iriaini* have pronounced Masai features, and many of their chiefs are pure or half Masai by birth. This is due to the fact that when the Kikuyu invaded that district about forty years ago they found it occupied by the remnants of the Alkipiak and Dala-le-kutuk Masai, who owing to famines, raids, and other causes were too much weakened to resist them. The two tribes therefore settled down peaceably side by side, and by intermarrying formed one people.

Again, many of the Kikuyu clans claim descent from certain particular tribes; thus, the Anjiro and Chakameyo clans say they are descended from the Shuka, the Akkachiko and Achera from the Kamba, the Aesaka from the Chaga of Kilimanjaro. Anyone enquiring into the descent of those present at a meeting of Kikuyu elders will find an extraordinary number of different tribes represented. One is a Maeru, another a Chaga, a third a Masai, a fourth a Shuka, a fifth a Dorobo, and so on.

The actual Kikuyu themselves are said to have come from two tribes called the Shagishu and Ngumbe, both of which still exist as tribes somewhere beyond the Maeru country, north of Mount Kenia.

I cannot speak from experience of the Shagishu, but I have met a native of Ngumbe whose appearance reminded me strongly of a Kikuyu. This man, who said he had never seen a white man before, told me that his country lay beyond Maeru and that he had come here to visit relatives. These same Ngumbe are believed to have been originally Dorobo, and Karuri, one of the paramount chiefs of the Kikuyu, who is himself a Dorobo, claims descent from them. The Ngumbe of the present day are probably analogous to the Kikuyu, *i.e.*, they are a mixture of Dorobo and some other tribe or tribes.

Many absolutely foreign tribes have had colonies in Kikuyu for shorter or longer periods. A tribe of coast people called Digo are stated to have lived for many years on the Tana River, in what is now known as the Fort Hall District.† Somali, Galla, Borana, or some other similar people effected a very strong footing in Kikuyu some fifty to seventy years ago. According to tradition they belonged to the Barabio Lokulala, Sigirai, and Endarsaurooi clans,‡ and they had settlements at Nyeri, Naivasha, Kijabe, Punda Milia, and generally all over the Kikuyu country.

In those days the Alkipiak Masai occupied the Laikipia Plateau, the Purko Masai were at Naivasha, the Kaputiei in the Kidong Valley, and the Tarosero at Iriaini. The Dorobo, who were still the dominant tribe, occupied with the Kikuyu the present Kikuyu country.

With all these tribes the Somali or Galla lived in a state of chronic warfare. The Larussa, a Kikuyu clan, and the Atwa, a Dorobo clan, unable to hold out any longer, migrated. The former have, it is said, preserved to this day their tribal identity and customs, and are still to be found somewhere in the vicinity of Kilimanjaro§; the latter near Mombasa.‖

The remaining tribes appealed for assistance against their oppressors to a great medicine man called Supi (or, to give him his correct name, Supeet), the grandfather of Lenana, the present Masai chief.

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* The name Iriaini is said to be derived from N-Darosero ainei, my Tarosero women. Tarosero is the name of the most important clan in this particular section of the Masai.

† Mr. Hollis informs me that the Segeju, who have intermarried with the Digo, a sub-tribe of the Wa-Nyika, have a tradition to the effect that they once lived on the Tana River.

‡ Barabio is the Kikuyu, Sigiriaish the Masai for Somali and Galla.

§ Possibly the Arusha, who live on Mount Meru in German East Africa.

‖ By Mombasa the up-country native often means the coast generally. According to Mr. Hollis the Wa-Sanya call themselves, and are known to the Galla as, Watwa; sing., Wanya.

14:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939)1942
FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE DOROBO[1]

By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD

I

The Dorobo, who call themselves Okiek, are a forest-dwelling people scattered over the highlands of Kenya and Tanganyika. Twelve groups[2] are recorded, and it is known that they are all hunters, and that all speak dialects of Nandi. The group which forms the subject of this paper lives in the North Tindiret forest to the S. E. of the Nandi Reserve, at an average altitude of over 8000 ft., and actually on the equator. In this area there were formerly six inhabited districts, called Kelpui, Kipkorom, Soeoiyo, Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich, while some five or six miles to the south there lived another group on Tindiret hill. My investigations have been limited to the first three of these divisions, since Chepurur, Sirua, and Mokopich no longer exist, and the remnant on Tindiret form a distinct group.

At least fifteen years ago the Dorobo were forbidden by the government to live in the forest reserve, which comprises the whole of their country, and those that did so, unless as squatters of the Forest

[1] The field-work on which this paper is based was carried out between May 1938 and November 1939 under a Leverhulme Research Fellowship, and I wish to express my gratitude to this organisation for making the work possible.

[2] The actual distribution is: Kenya, 9 groups; Tanganyika, 3 groups. See Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst., 1929, LIX. 336 and fig. 2.

[P. 183, A]

[P.191, A]

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *siliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oruyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *siliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *kodua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *kodua* is high for people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *monbis*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

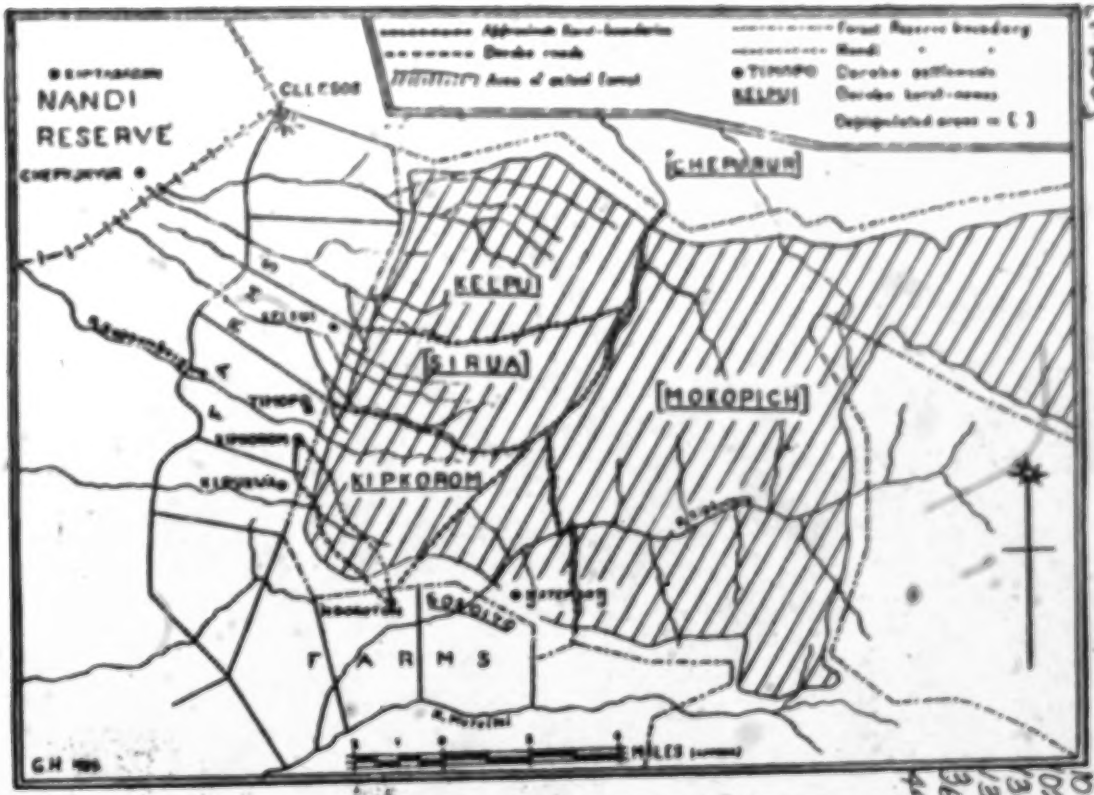
III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.



Sketch Map of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo Country

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12
Dorobo FL6

M 563 D 224 Before closing this chapter it may not be out of place to say a few words regarding a tribe of people whom I have referred to as the Andorobbo. This tribe—the Wa-ndorobbo of the Wa-swahili—is a small race of people scattered over Masai-land, who gain their entire livelihood by the chase. They neither keep cattle nor cultivate the land. The antelope, the buffalo, and the elephant supply them with such meat as they may desire, while they always find neighbouring tribes, less skilful in hunting, eager to exchange vegetable food for game. The elephant, however, seems to be their staple food, and as a rule the Andoroddo are to be found only where those animals abound; as, for instance, in the dense forests of Kenia and Kikuyu, the forest-clad escarpment of Maũ, the top of Elgeyo, Maragwet, Chibcharagnani, Buru, Dondolè, &c. They are rarely found in numbers, and usually in very small villages, so that there is nothing like tribal life among them. They enjoy considerable immunity from attack by the Masai, as they are sources of wealth to the latter by attracting the coast traders; usually, too, the Masai fall heir to a considerable share of the ivory. They also act as go-betweens or middlemen in getting the married people the vegetable food they require. To such an extent is this system carried, that on the plateau to the east of Naivasha, at the place called by the traders Mianzi-ni, a very large village of Andorobbo have altogether given up hunting, and subsist entirely by buying vegetable food from the Wa-kikuyu and selling it again to the Masai, or it may be the traders.

D [131] [361] M 563 D 439

M 563 D 192 105 The language spoken by the Andorobbo is allied to that of the Masai, but they can all speak the latter in its purity. They build regular villages, and in general appearance they resemble the inferior class of the Masai. As I have already remarked, they make the buffalo-hide shields of the warriors, as well as the coarse earthen cooking-pots of the women. They are on the whole looked upon as a species of serf, and treated accordingly. Their transactions with the traders must be done secretly, or everything would be stolen from them.

D 224 411 In hunting the elephant the Andorobbo use a peculiar weapon. In shape it is like the rammer of a cannon, the heavy head being intended to give additional weight in dealing a blow. In the thickened part is placed a weapon like a short but thick arrow, fifteen inches long, the head of the arrow being smeared over with the deadly poison of the *murju*. The whole spear is little short of eight feet. With this the